HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I enter into no compromise with Slavery. I am for Justice, in the name of Humanity, and according to the Law of the Living God."

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JOSEPH HORACE KIMBALL, Editor.

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

Our readers will not, we hope, be deterred from reading the following most excellent speech on account of its great length. For the purpose of making room for other valuable matter, we were disposed to abridge: but unable to determine what to omit, we give the whole, and can assure our readers, that, if their taste agree with ours, the entire perusal will most abundantly compensate for the time it may occupy. It was delivered at the late annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives.

ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq. of Boston, offered the following resolution: which, he observed, had been handed him since he entered the meeting:

Resolved, That true allegiance to his country, to liberty, and to God, requires, that every man should be an abolitionist, and openly espouse the anti-slavery cause.

When any man or set of men differ from the majority on questions of important practical bearing, a respect for the feelings of that majority should make them solicitous to state the reasons for their opinions. Repeated and vigorous have been the efforts of abolitionists, to make known their sentiments and the grounds of them. These efforts have been partially successful. But seldom has so favorable an opportunity as this presented itself, for making known our views. Now, every man may have his particular reasons for his abolition faith. I state my own. So far as I am known, I believe it is conceded that I have sustained the character of a moderate man. I propose, then, to state some of the reasons why I, as a moderate and cautious man, have found it my duty to be an abolitionist.

1. Nothing in the *constitution* of the U. S. forbids it. There is a great deal of loose assertion on this point. One man finds abolitionism to be contrary to the *letter*; another, to the *spirit* of the constitution. Surely it was 'to *secure the blessings of liberty*,' that the constitution was formed. But it is well known that there is not one word in the constitution which forbids the discussion of slavery. The existence of slavery is recognized there, but only incidentally and as a matter of fact. But can any one force out of it a prohibition of this discussion? I defy him to produce the clause. Abundant evidence might be given to show, that the framers of the constitution supposed that the provisional clause in the constitution for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, would also effect the extinction of domestic slavery. Our most eminent statesmen of that period never anticipated slavery's being permanent in the country. What would Franklin have thought of the modern doctrine, that slavery is too sacred to be assailed by the moral influence of the free?

2. Is there any thing in the laws, to prohibit my advocating anti-slavery doctrines? No; we challenge our opponents to arraign us, not before Judge Lynch, but before the impartial courts of our country. Abundance of vague menaces have been thrown out on this subject, and it has even been hinted from high places, that we have been guilty of a crime indictable at common law; but no one has yet had the temerity to try this issue with us before the legal tribunals.

3. Again, I find nothing *morally wrong*, in taking part in the great abolition movement. It is certainly morally right to endeavor to rectify an acknowledged wrong, by peaceful means. Abolitionists reject all weapons, but truth and argument. To justify our struggle for the oppressed, we surely need not look beyond the injunction, to do to others as we would have them do to us.

4. The only remaining questions are, Is it *expedient* to agitate this question? Are our means wise and well-timed? Is there no danger to be apprehended from them? In my limited observation, I have found it far safer to do right than people are apt to imagine. Our republican institutions are based upon the abstract principle that it is in the long run, safe to do right. Our fathers fought for a threepenny tax on tea—it was not a matter of money for which they contended, but of abstract principle.

Now, Sir, I have seen that in the history of our country, just so far as we have adhered to great principles of abstract right our country has been great and glorious; and just so far as we have disregarded the principles of theoretic right for the sake of expediency and safety, we have been involved in disgrace and disaster.

Seven years ago, the question of the abolition of imprisonment for debt was strongly agitated in this Commonwelth. I was one (& I speak it with regret,) who opposed that reform from the fear that the experiment would be unsafe. But, I have acknowleged my error, and I am sorry that I was ever found among those who fear to trust the operation of the great principles of right. Imprisonment for debt was abolished, and the results have been good. Some are afraid of producing insurrection among the slaves, by carrying out abstract truth. But let us look at facts. Three years ago, it was said by the planters of the British West Indies, that immediate emancipation was not safe.—'What,' said the Jamaica planters, 'let loose the negroes here, where they are to the whites as 25 to 1!' What said the people of Antigua, where the slave population were as 18 to 1? 'Insurrection!—murder!—bloodshed!—ruin!' Antigua was conspicuous among the Islands for its predictions of violence and disaster. But, the great measure passed, and when the question was put to Antigua, whether emancipation should immediately become the law of the land, and they become immediately entitled to the compensation, or whether they would adopt the six years' apprenticeship, they chose the former. In that great colony, all the slaves were emancipated in a single day, and put under no more restraint than the laws which govern the white population; and what has been the consequence? Every thing has there gone on harmoniously, so that the planters have found emancipation *profitable*, independently of the compensation received for their slaves. In that Island, for many years, the Christmas holidays had not passed off without disturbance among the slave population; and these festivities had long been guarded by a large military force. But, on the year of the complete emancipation of the slaves, all apprehension of disturbance had so entirely ceased, that it was not deemed necessary to call out a single soldier; and that day never before passed off, so free from disorder of every kind. The admirable success of the English emancipation, cannot much longer be kept from the knowledge of this community, by the arts of those who fear and hate the light of truth. It is but a few days since a merchant in this city, told me that there would be failures among a certain class of speculators, in consequence of their large purchases of sugars. 'How,' I asked, 'will this cause failures?' 'Why,' said he, 'it was generally understood, (a while ago,) that the crops would in a great measure fail in the English Islands, in consequence of freeing the negroes; and people therefore went very largely into the sugar business, under the expectation that prices were to rise. But instead of that, the crops have turned out better than they did before the emancipation; which is very unlucky for some people.' Very lucky, thought I, or rather very providential, for others.

This, Mr. President, was incidental and perfectly unconscious testimony to the cause of immediate emancipation. It came not from an Abolitionist, but from one of the large class who think much of sugars,—little, I fear, of the slave.

To do *rightly* is true prudence. The best policy is to be just, and there is at least a presumption that we shall find it safe. But we are called upon to *prove* the expediency of agitating this question. Now, if we show that slavery is a great wrong, and that we only mean to use peaceable means for its removal, it is the business of our opponents to show that our course is inexpedient. Perhaps the most common objection is, that our efforts will dissolve the Union. There are always apparent dangers opposed to doing right. The course of duty is certainly not strewed with flowers. It sometimes abounds with sacrifices and is full of suffering. But it is, on the whole, the path of peace. It must not be forgotten, too, that there are dangers on the other side. I am of those who believe by far the greatest danger to be there. If we are to wait till all appearance of danger disappears, what great work of Reform will ever be commenced or accomplished on earth? Is it settled that we are never to act, where there may be danger?

This cry about the dissolution of the Union, carries not much credence with me. It has become stale. It has been the cuckoo song of the south, ever since the formation of the Union. We have heard it so long, it ceases to startle us. I am not so easily made to believe that the discussion of slavery will dissolve the Union. I have too much confidence in the practical wisdom of our southern brethren, to believe that they will adopt a measure from which they have every thing to lose, and nothing to gain. Believe it not.

What then will they lose, by severing the ties which bind the north and south? They will lose the physical force of this Union, which is now at their command, to maintain their tranquillity. It rests with the military force of the United States, to quell insurrections. The bayonets of the nation are at the back of the slaveholder, to protect his assumed right of property in his slaves.

But they would lose our protection in another form. *Now*, the northern states are bound by a constitutional provision, to restore the fugitive slaves of the south. The state of Virginia contains between one fourth and one fifth of all the slaves in the Union; and her whole north-western line borders on free states. Will Virginia give up the national bond, and become the frontier state of the new southern confederacy? If the Union were dissolved, would free Pennsylvania and Ohio, or any other of the border states, act the part of kidnappers for the south? With the exasperated feelings which must precede a dissolution of the union, should we aid them one jot in trying to hold their slaves? No. The south would lose the protection they now have from the constitution, in regard to runaways. Their bondmen would pass over the line and be free. The whole *property* of the south, so to speak, would get up, some morning, and *walk off*.

But what would the south *gain* by a dissolution of the Union? Will she gain exemption from anti-slavery discussions and anti-slavery doctrines? Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, admitted, on the floor of Congress, that all the literature of the world, the whole religious sentiment of christendom, all philosophy, were opposed to slavery. Do our southern friends intend to shut all this out? Will they draw about them a *cordon sanitaire* to exclude the literature and philosophy and religion of all the rest of mankind? This is somewhat difficult in the nineteenth century. Mr. Preston gave an account of the anti-slavery mania abroad. It began with a few obscure individuals in England. Now, said he, a man cannot be in the cabinet who is not an abolitionist. So in France. The officers of anti-slavery societies in France, are cabinet ministers. What did Mr. Preston propose? Alas! That the southern states would hug the institution, and stand up against the world. This, Mr. President, is easier said than done. If the North would do its duty, every southern man would go back from his visits to the free states, humbled and thoughtful, a missionary in the cause of freedom.

But there is another difficulty among Mr. Preston's friends. They find they are not sound at home. One half the slaveholders in Virginia were a little while ago talking about abolishing slavery. The storm of opposition to anti-slavery movements has hushed their voices for a while; but let the tempest raised by their own demagogues subside, they will again be heard. There is a party at the south, who will not submit to the doctrines of McDuffie. At the head of this party is Mr. Clay, who has recently openly avowed his repugnance to the new doctrine of the south, on this subject. No; the real danger lies nearer home. The advocates of slavery find a great and growing antagonist in the consciences of slaveholders themselves. One of the most distinguished men of South Carolina, on receiving a copy of Dr. Channing's work on Slavery, committed it to the flames; and on being remonstrated with, for so illiberal an act, replied to a friend of mine who was present, that he was afraid it would fall into the hands of his daughters, and that its specious eloquence might create uneasiness in their minds. Gen. Duff Green is a man of far reaching views. He has lately been appointed editor of the 'Southern Review,' a work got up to sustain the present position of the south. He has, in a labored article, exhibited the true ground of their fears. I will read an extract:

'We are of those who believe the south has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences and fears of slaveholders themselves; from the insinuations of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object. *Preparatory to this*, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding states with the belief that slavery is a sin against God; that the 'national compact' involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse.'——Mr. President,—I wish our northern opposers had the candor to represent as fairly our object and measures.

But it is said, your means are inadequate—you have not legal authority; nor have these, your advocates, an opportunity of speaking to the south directly. It was the remark of a wise man, 'Let me make a nation's ballads, and I don't care who makes the laws.' Give us tongue and pen, and I don't care if all the laws of all the oppressors on earth are against us. Give us a fair field and we will overthrow slavery. People underrate the efficacy of discussion. What good will your talking do? say they. I reply: Did you ever hear of any great reform, which was not brought about by talking? Certainly the strangest remedy for a great wrong like slavery, I ever heard proposed, was, never to say a single word about it. Look at the reformation in the church; at the abolition of the African slave trade; at the abolition of slavery in Great Britain. These reformations were set on foot by *talking*. Thought is greater and elder than action; and when the public mind is sufficiently prepared, by discussion, the legitimate action follows of course. We have just the means in our hands that have effected all reformations. Look at the first awakening of public sentiment in regard to the African slave trade. The whole world was slumbering over its enormities. Even religion tolerated it. The great and good John Newton wrote home from the coast of Africa, while pursuing this business, which is now outlawed as piracy, that he had been enjoying sweet seasons with his God! A quiet student in a University was appointed to write a theme; and the subject given him for his task, by his professor, was the African slave trade. He studied the subject; began to collect matter; his soul kindled at the enormities that met him; he imparted his knowledge and poured forth his feelings into kindred bosoms. The advocates of the abolition of the slave trade, among his humble friends, at length numbered twelve. The great men, the rulers, the 'wise and prudent,' stood aloof; the commercial interests, the religion of the nation,—every thing seemed against them. But they persevered, in the midst of obloquy and opposition; they talked, they wrote, they went on 'conquering and to conquer.' After a twenty years conflict, the slave trade was overthrown. That student was THOMAS CLARKSON. Posterity looks upon such men and deeds in a vastly different light from cotemporaries. Five or six years ago, a poor and solitary individual of the working class came among us, with nothing to depend upon but his God and the native powers which God gave him. He raised the thrilling cry of immediate emancipation. His encouragement was at first small indeed. But the grand, the true, the vital idea of immediate freedom to the slave, burned bright within him and supported him. He, too, at length had his twelve associates, and the first Anti-Slavery Society was formed. From this small beginning, and owing mainly I believe, under God, to the clear vision, the purity of character, the energy, and the intrepidity of that individual, our cause has advanced till it numbers 800 societies. An Anti-Slavery society has been formed in the United States every day, for the last two years. There are 300 societies in the single state of Ohio, one of which numbers 4000 members. Yet the individual who started this mighty movement, is rejected and scorned by the great and little vulgar of our day. No matter. Posterity will do justice to the name of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. (Tremendous and long continued applause.)

But the fact is, those who condemn our means can have little studied human nature or history. The apostle Paul was taunted with relying on the *foolishness of preaching*. Which is the more powerful, the sword or the pen? Public sentiment is the great moving power; and public sentiment—what *is it*, but the opinions of you and me, Mr. President, and of the men and women round us in the community? Ay, sir, of women too, I say. The Hon. Balie Peyton, of Tennessee, was lately talking on this subject with a friend of mine, and remarked that he did not like these abolition petitions that the women signed—some affected, he said, to despise them; but he regarded them in a very different light. These women, sir, said he, have the education of the rising generation, and the youth of our country will be brought up from their cradles like Hannibal, to swear on their domestic altars, eternal hatred to Slavery. (Great applause.)

But we concede too much, when we say we have no power to act. Look at the 26,000 slaves, in the District and Territories under the jurisdiction of Congress. Has the north nothing to do with them? Sir, we as a nation hold these 26,000 slaves. We are responsible for their bondage, because they are held under the authority of laws made by our representatives. Perhaps, looking at the millions who are suffering under American tyranny, some may scorn to notice these 26,000 slaves. But we regard it as a matter of no small moment that our national metropolis is converted into a great slave mart, where men women and children are sold like cattle. When we know that there are in the District of Columbia, grated prisons to store slaves intended for the southern market,—principally young persons, groaning in these prisons, torn forever from their homes and the bosoms of their parents—and that all this is done under the laws of Congress, made by our representatives; that the public prisons of the District which we, here in Massachusetts, help to pay for, are made the receptacle of human beings, destined for this cruel traffic, when we know that the slave trade between Washington and New Orleans is carried on by a line of packet vessels, as regular as the trade between New York and Liverpool, the subject assumes a form in which we have direct personal right and responsibility. Who is there who will pretend that we have no right to speak out on this subject? If our way is not right, what is right? We have become a party to these enormities, and we shall continue to be partakers of the guilt, unless we lift up our voices in the strongest remonstrances against them.

But, gentlemen say we use very intemperate language. When our lecturers are speaking on this subject, they speak out of full hearts. Their minds are brought daily in contact with the atrocities of the slave-system. Would it be strange that they should use strong language? Will you, who are a Whig or Democrat, abandon your party because some of its members use violent language? The fact is notorious, that political editors and political speech makers are daily in the habit of using denunciation and abuse, which far transcends our vocabulary of invective, yet, who ever heard any one objecting to the principles of either of the political parties of the day, on this ground? 'O, but,' I am reminded, 'you are defeating your object by your violence.' I have always remarked that they who are most troubled lest we should defeat our object, are precisely the persons who wish with all their hearts to have it defeated. There may, however, be some good conscientious men, who stand aloof from us, on this very ground. But, I ask, whether the same men deny all co-operation with the political parties of the day, on account of their violence? I have very seldom heard of such persons. I ask, whether, in carrying forward any great object, we are to wait till we can get men as agents to carry it on who are infallible? We seek men of the right stamp—we look for honest men—men of principle—and we trust that, out of good and honest hearts, there will not come much wrong. But if we are to wait till we get perfect agents, we must leave slavery to work its own cure, in rivers of blood.

But, you exasperate.' And what does that prove? Does it follow that, because a man is exasperated, no good is done? When cool reflection returns, the truth will reach the conscience. Nothing exaspcaates an uneasy conscience so much as truth. Can any one tell me when the South will feel any less exasperated at the discussion of slavery than now?

But, again you increase the sufferings of the slaves.' Here is a worse libel on the slave master than any thing the abolitionists have ever said. Are slaveholders indeed such an inhuman, brutal set of men, that they will wreak their vengeance for the misdeeds of the abolitionists upon the poor defenceless slave? Abolitionists have not said any thing like this. I will not, I do not believe this aspersion. I have made many anxious inquiries of slaveholders and others, who have been at the south; and so far as I can learn, the fact is, that the slaves are better treated than formerly, and for this reason; the masters know that, if they abuse their slaves, it will some how or other get to the ears of the abolitionists, and will be a swift witness against them. I know that the more respectable slaveholders have kept the violent in check, by this consideration. But, I call upon those who object so much to the language of the abolitionists, to answer this question to their own hearts: Is it our words, or our principles, which offend you? I fear that many who object to our phraseology, are those who are reluctant to have the real character of slavery brought to light. I am sure the objection often comes too, from men, well-meaning perhaps, but men who have no realizing conception of what slavery is; who do not make the case of the slave their own; whose sympathy is very cool for their black fellow-man. Our ardor seems unreasonable to such men, and if we speak half the truth of that system of tyranny and pollution which disgraces our land, they think our language harsh and exaggerated. Put why are they not as sensitive on other subjects? Simply *because their hearts are in these*, on one side or the other. I read abuse in political papers, far exceeding any thing said or written by abolitionists; yet no sensation is created—no excitement—no mobs, on account of the violent language of political partizans. No; it is our principles, more than our words, that form the real stumbling blocks. Will not something be pardoned, in free Massachusetts, to the spirit of liberty?

'But, why don't you use mild language?—Is it the way to persuade men, to call hard names?' Persuasion is not at all times our first object. When we wish to persuade, we employ the gentle pen of Angelina Grimke. But, if we wish to rouse the north, and this we avow to be our first object,—we speak in a harsher key. We mean to hold up slavery in all its loathsomeness—we mean to make it base and odious—to make every man, woman and child in New England feel that it is so. For this purpose, our language must be sometimes *rough hewn*—we can't use fine instruments.

'But, what is your plan?' says one, 'give us your plan.' Yes, our enemies would be very glad to get us into the warfare of details and local measures. We might contend about these for a century, and nobody would be the wiser or the freer;—the master would sit secure, in the enjoyment of his wealth in human bones and sinews. We say to the slaveholders; we give you our general plan, which is to 'do justly, and love mercy.' We leave all the rest to you; if you think our advice dangerous, appoint your special constables, commission your stipendiary magistrates, arrange the details to suit yourselves, for you best know your own needs; but do *the thing*—have it some how or other done, and done at once.—Where there is a will there is a way. 'Ah, but this is all visionary—extreme—impracticable.' So far from it, that any man who will devote half an hour to reading documentary evidence, may satisfy himself that it is not only practicable, but the only practicable mode of emancipation. Its practicability and safety have been abundantly proved by experience, in all parts of the world and under the most diverse circumstances. Gradual measures, the necessity of preparation for the slave, projects of melioration,—all these are delusive pretexts for perpetuating this unrighteous and oppressive system. Those great men, who assisted in the formation of the Constitution, Dr. Rush, John Jay, and Franklin, went home from that work, and formed societies for the abolition of slavery, not, be it remarked for its abolition, in their own state only, but throughout the country. But, as they adopted the principle of gradual emancipation, they effected comparatively little. So long as you acknowledge the master's right to hold his fellow beings as property *for the present*, he is not very solicitous for the future. You may say as much as you please about the duty of emancipation at some future time. It does not touch his conscience or his pocket. The societies which were formed by those venerable men, were little felt or noticed, because they rested upon no deep and vital principle. But the adoption by the anti-slavery societies of the present day, of the principle of immediate emancipation, has thrown the whole south into a ferment.

But, Mr. President, suppose it to be admitted that abolitionists may sometimes lose temper, and sometimes lack taste; that their views and measures are not uniformly marked with judgment and good sense; these circumstances should constitute a stronger call on those who deem themselves more judicious and temperate, to come into the ranks of men whose general object they cannot but approve, and who may be benefitted by their counsels. The current objections to the abolitionists as a party, can have little weight in determining the course of any reflecting man. I would ask such a one to look at what the abolitionists have done and are doing. I ask him to look at eight hundred anti-slavery societies, formed in five years; to consider that we have seventy lecturing agents in the field; that Congress is now shaken by almost weekly conflicts connected with our efforts;—that the Texas question is lowering ominously on our borders, and may, at any time, convert the whole country in three weeks into two well defined parties, pro-slavery and anti-slavery; that every city and village in the whole nation is more and more stirred up on the slavery question. I would ask, do you believe all this excitement is to subside? Or do you not rather see that the great issue is made up in our land, between Slavery and Freedom—and that one or the other must fall? Very soon your side must be taken, be your fears or your scruples what they may. Massachusetts, and the other free states, will soon be compelled by the force of circumstances,—or rather by that Provi-

dained who shapes our ends,—to occupy their true position. Is there a death-struggle to come in this land, between liberty and slavery, and does any man doubt on which side Massachusetts will be arrayed? It is idle to question it. The moral contest which is growing warmer and warmer, must sooner or later be substantially a sectional one. No man in this part of the Union can long be neutral in this contest. And, thank God, the true spirit is rising; not so much in the cities indeed! Our progress is comparatively little known there,—but before long a voice will be heard from the country that will startle our sleepers. In the words of a distinguished journalist, 'the nation has been winnowed to furnish men of the most unpalatable enthusiasm and the most obstinate constancy, to carry forward the cause. Violence merely serves to exalt and inflame the ardor with which they pursue their object. Those who administer it are merely chafing the ears of the bull-dog, which is fastened upon his prey.' Under God, and in the truth, we feel that we are invincible.

I move, Sir, the adoption of the resolution.

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: MARCH 4, 1837.

All men are created equal; are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.

DECLARATION OF 1776.

All men are born equally free and independent; and have certain, natural, essential and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY; acquiring, possessing and protecting property.—CONSTITUTION OF N. H.

Agents to the West India Islands.

The letter from the editor, J. H. Kimball, published in our paper of February 11, left the writer at the Island of St. Thomas, the 10th of December last, under the expectation of leaving there on that day. By the following letter received this week, it seems that our friend, and his companion, Mr. Thome, left St. Thomas soon after the 14th of December, and after a pleasant voyage of a few days, during which they passed several islands, they arrived safely at Antigua; a narrative of which thus far is given to our readers this week, together with extracts from the Antigua papers. Next week, it will be continued.

The *Antigua Mercury*, of December 22, thus notices the visit of the American Agents:—

"Messrs. KIMBALL and THOME, Gentlemen from the United States of America, are now on a visit to our Island to gather information relative to the results of the late Emancipation. We regard this as a pleasing indication that the American public have their eyes turned upon our experiment, with a view, we may hope, of ultimately, if not speedily, following our excellent example."

ST. THOMAS, Dec. 10, 1836.

APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY.

I can hardly realize that I am in the world of which New-England forms a part. The change which a voyage of ten days has effected is like the magic transmutations of enchanted tales. I am in St. Thomas, moving about in its streets and holding converse with its jabbering race, but surely I am not yet *of* it. I am reminded of home only by the strong contrast between the scenes and customs of home and those which are every where around me. There are gathered here all nations and tongues.—Every country in the Archipelago has a representative in this little town. The voluble Frenchman, with his furious gesticulations, the heavy sluggish Dutchman, whose tongue is as sluggish as the wooden shoes he wears, the sober and shrewd Yankee, who always talks as though he were making a bargain, and the plain, blunt English tars, who lean and toss much more than he talks,—all are here assembled with their peculiar traits and languages and habits. Then the houses—they are constructed for a tropic clime, with hardly a point of resemblance to an American house. The walls are built of stone, and are of considerable thickness, and furnished with heavy doors and window-shutters to prevent (what is horrible to think, that give them more the appearance of prisons and forts than the peaceful dwellings of peaceful men. They are generally of one and two stories, and are built so that an open square under them serves mostly as a museum of windows. There is no wood at all in their window-sashes, but they are supplied with blinds, which can be opened with the admission of air or closed entirely. The country is and is peculiarly West Indian. You see fields of cane, trees, mountains, every thing green and beautiful.—But there are no fences, no lakes, no streams of water, which make so much of the beauty and grandeur of a New-England landscape. You may take pleasant walks, but you will never see the babbling spring, or hear the music of the cascade, or the deep roar of the winds among the branches of the "darkling woods." Verdure, eternal as time itself, is around you. It is the grand characteristic of the country in this island. The eye soon tires, however, of its uniformity, and longs for the varied prospect, the streams and lakes and valleys, and plains and forests,—the spring and summer and autumn leaves, and odors and winds, of the north.

EMANCIPATION OF THE PEOPLE.

But the character and character of the inhabitants impress a northern mind most strongly. He feels assured the moment he sees them that he is in a land of slavery. That it is an institution in letters of fire all around you. You see it on the back of the degraded laborer. You see it in the half-naked form, the rags and the filth, in the stalking [illegible] which looks to heaven only by [illegible] the impressive countenance, the debasing [illegible] of those you meet. You see it in the want of all woman's dignity. The menial employments, the ribald laugh, the boisterousness, the violent contentions,—all proclaim it. The immorality, which, like the slime of the snake, ever marks the footsteps of slavery,—the awful violations of all honesty and virtue, which are rife here,—which are pouring a miry deluge through the streets, leaving hardly a house pure,—tell of it. It is written on the door-stones, and on the corners of the streets, and on the very bells of the houses. The ignorance and degradation of the colored classes, bond and free, are living and speaking evidences of it. As I have been entirely unaccustomed to the scenes exhibited here, they attracted my attention strongly. The vociferations, which make night and day hideous, are ringing in my ears now. I never before knew the power of the tongue, that unruly member, which setteth the courses of nature on fire. To look out of our windows on the tumult almost startles us. To hear the disputants pouring forth, in their shrill tones and with nervous ejaculations, a torrent of French words, accompanied with the most rapid and furious gestures, and mingled with phrases and sentences, some of them most horribly barbarous, of English and Spanish and Dutch, makes one half believe that he is standing amid the confounded laborers of Babel. With the morning clarion of the cock is heard the loud clamor of human voices, and the slumbering ear is startled, as the last sound at night, by the piercing tones of these wretched vixens. Their gesticulations are so furious, and the contortions of their face so passionate, and their voices so loud, that they seem in a quarrel even when perhaps they are only telling some ordinary gossip anecdote. A boisterous laugh, which occasionally swells the chorus, proclaims that good nature prevails. No one who ever stood in the streets of St. Thomas will call in question the lingual powers of woman. Yet while they are vociferating thus wildly, and throwing their arms and body about in the most excited gesticulations, they bear upon their heads baskets of fruit, heavy bottles or perhaps a bowl of milk. But the women are not alone. All the animals in St. Thomas seem to possess wonderful vocal powers. Men, women, dogs and goats unite in one general and eternal outcry and clamor. So customary has it become that in the most uproarious meetings, no one appears to take any notice of it but ourselves. It is one of the effects of that system which wrests men and women from the high station which God gave them, and makes brutes of them, crushing the mind that it may degrade the body.

INTEMPERANCE.

Intemperance is more prevalent among the higher classes here than among the negroes. Wine-bibbing is the great sin. As to drinking a glass of *rum*, or any kind of distilled spirits, why, they would scorn it as an act unworthy of a gentleman. Rum will do well enough for the 'niggers,' but for a merchant to be seen taking it, would at once stamp him with infamy. Wine, *the pure juice of the grape*, as our wine-loving parsons and deacons would say, is indispensable on a well ordered dinner table. Bread would be omitted sooner that the champagne or port bottle. I have one of them at my plate every day, though it usually gets out of my neighborhood very soon after my glass of cold water arrives. I have seen merchants and clerks, who are considered respectable, sitting an hour at a time, after the cloth was removed, over their glasses, drinking and smoking, till, like Noah, they were overwhelmed in a deluge more destructive than that which drowned the old world. One of my fellow-boarders, who is a partner in one of the first mercantile houses in the city, I have seen sit at the table *alone*, the monarch of all he surveyed, and sip and sip by the half hour. He is what I should call a *moderate* drinker, for he would turn off his glass, not at a swallow, like your vulgar wight, who has been accustomed to the beer pot, but with a delicate reserve that gave him an opportunity to bring every drop into sweet communion with the gustatory nerves. The *social* virtues of wine were not much proved in his case. I was much amused at the gravity, not to say sadness, which he manifested. His brow was bald, and the muscles of his face were elongated with the sage expression of a Judge on the bench. Now and then, as he raised the glass to his lips, there would be a bright twinkle of the eye, which showed that a change had come over the spirit of his dream. A few nights since we had a new act of "Low Life above Stairs." The chief performers were a Philadelphian, just recovering from a fever, and a young man who came out with us from New-York. The others were creole clerks. They came home from a revel about ten o'clock, singing and shouting through the streets, in the most boisterous manner. They called up the servants, had wine and cards brought, and for two hours kept up a tumult more hideous than that made by the vociferations of the street women. A crashing of chairs, a rattling of decanters, cursing of the poor servants, accompanied with snatches of ribald songs, and peals of laughter, formed the interlude. One of the servants, or rather slaves, informed us that such scenes were of nightly occurrence. They drink a great deal of wine, he said,—and then, he continued, with a look that told volumes, *we have a hard time*. Poor fellow! a hard time surely that must be when drunkenness and slavery meet. Both of these Americans treated the servants in the most domineering and harsh manner, calling them by the most opprobrious epithets, and threatening repeatedly to flog them. They did not gain any thing by it. Their wishes were not attended to with half the promptness and alacrity with which ours were. We spoke to the whole household as reasonable beings, and ever found them ready and faithful to perform every duty or favor we required. Kindness begat kindness in return.

MORAL QUALITIES OF THE NEGRO.

From what I have thus far seen of negro character, I can testify strongly to his kindness. Though we may pride ourselves on our fancied superiority in intellectual acuteness and strength, he certainly excells us in those better endowments,—the *moral* qualities of our nature. Benevolence is a deep and active principle in him,—a prominent and guiding principle as the phrenologist would say. I have received many favors from this despised but noble people since I left New-England. The steward of the ship in which I came out, did me many a kind act. I shall long remember his attentions to me when cold and sickness kept me in my berth. Since I have been on shore, too, I have had personal experience of this beautiful trait of the proscribed negro. For the last four days brother Thome and myself have both been quite ill, languid and feverish, with severe headache, and almost incapable either of mental or bodily effort. Our nurse, or 'mother' as we call her, attends us with a kindness and assiduity which would hardly be exceeded by our own kindred. She is about fifty years of age, and is a *slave*. She now hires her time of her mistress, paying her fifte dollars a month, besides supporting two children who when they are old enough to be profitable will be taken from her and made to work for another.—One of her daughters is a slave in the house where we are boarding,—the slave of a *colored woman*. As she is lame and sickly, her mother often calls in, to use her expression, 'to lend her a hand.' It was on one of these visits of parental affection, that she learned our illness. She immediately commenced her kind offices, by bringing us a warm foot bath and a glass of hot lemonade, which excited a free perspiration, added to her other attentions, has produced great relief. To day we feel nearly well.—It will require a good many sneers and taunts from the blasphemous haters of color to erase from our memory the christian kindness of this poor negro woman of St. Thomas. Those who know what it is to be sick in a strange land will realize with us the value of such a friend.

SABBATH IN ST. THOMAS.

When I awoke on sabbath morning, I could not persuade myself that the sunlight had ushered in a day consecrated by God to himself, I was roused from sleep by a heavy gun fired from the fort. That was instantly followed by the bugle and drum, and soon I heard the measured step of the soldiery as they marched from their barracks through the principal streets. This display of military force is made every night and morning in order to keep in subjection the rising spirit of freedom. On walking out into the streets, I witnessed the same bustle and activity and boisterousness which were exhibited the day before. The stores were generally thrown open, and the work-shops occupied as usual. Men and women were passing to and fro, with their heads laden like pack-horses with heavy trunks, bundles of clothes, water-jars, and articles of merchandize. At the corners sat the fruit-sellers, with their broad wooden trays on the ground before them, and talking with their companions in their vociferous manner, and tossing their arms in wild gestures, as usual.—Casting the eye along the roads which lead out to the estates, there could be seen, every few moments, the poor slave, wending his way, with his tray of fruits or vegetables on his head, to the sunday market, where for a few bits or a bottle of rum, he would dispose of his little load. From our windows, we could see them almost constantly issuing from the winding paths on the hill side upon the open highway. There was "no sound of the church going bell," swelling out on the morning air, and echoing among "the valleys and rocks." The only bell which I heard was that rung at the fort to call the soldiers to their morning drill. There were no neatly dressed and quiet children passing to the sunday school, no beautiful household, parent and child, going hand in hand to the temple of prayer. There was nothing to remind one of a New-England sabbath. All was business and pleasure. At twelve o'clock, we attended public worship at the Dutch Reformed Church. The house, which would contain about five hundred people, was not more than two-thirds filled, principally by blacks. There was no distinction of seats as among us. All colors sat promiscuously together. The audience was mostly composed of females. There was hardly a man present. This we learned is usually the case. The ladies go to church and the men to their stores and counting-rooms, where they spend their time in making trades or regulating their books. The text was from Galatians 5 14, and a more pointless, pithless, senseless discourse I never heard. It was spoken in a calm monotonous tone, and did not contain one sentiment worth remembering. I wondered at first how, with such a subject before him, he could preach thus tamely,—how he could repress the gushings of the heart, which God had given him. But a moment's thought explained it. He is in the midst of a wicked and perverse generation, and he dares not speak the truth in its fervid purity. His sermon was just such a one as I should ever expect in a land of slavery. We met him the next day, and learned from his own mouth that he was an American, a native of N. York, and *a slaveholder!* The day closed as it began. At eight o'clock in the evening a gun was fired from the fort, and then came the sound of drums and trumpets, and the parade of soldiery throughout the streets. The last sounds that struck my ear as I fell asleep was the vociferations of a party of blacks under my window without, and the angry voice of the Philadelphian, abusing the servants above.

ST. JOHN'S (Isle of Antigua,)
December 27th, 1836. }

We left St. Thomas about 6 o'clock on Saturday evening the 10th inst., in the mail-boat for this place. Our vessel was a snug little family schooner, built for the West Indian seas, and resembling somewhat, I imagine, in dimensions & appearance that in which St. Paul performed his perilous voyages 18 hundred years ago. How much of that boldness and decision and activity and perseverance, how much of that holy principle and entire faith in God and Jesus Christ, which he ever manifested, do we need in the great work of emancipation! The shadows of night were just settling down on the city as we put out of the harbor. The lights on the shore, gleaming from the open houses, which are built one above another on the side of the hills, and flashing on a back-ground of lofty mountains, presented a most beautiful spectacle. The whole city seemed illuminated,—in joy, perhaps, at the departure from its slave borders of two abolitionists, "foreign emissaries." We had a clear sky, and such mild weather as occasionally visits us at home on a June evening. We took dinner (which here answers the hour of *our* supper) on deck by moon light, with the starry heavens above us for our canopy, and the ocean-waters foaming and flashing around us as we drove along.—Our associations were rather of a romantic character,—they were certainly very pleasant. We were glad to quit St. Thomas, pressed in, as it is, by inaccessible hills on three sides and the ocean on the other,—and to exchange its hot air, and narrow streets, and boisterousness (for it is without exception the most vociferous place I ever saw) for the freedom and refreshing breezes of the sea. We had light head winds all night and the next day, and did not reach Tortola, where we expected to arrive in the morning, till 9 o'clock sabbath evening.

TORTOLA.

This Island is under the government of Great Britain, but is of little value to any nation or individual. It is a ragged, barren spot, furnishing mere piles of rocks, with a few trees and shrubs in its clefts, and a few plantations lodged in some hurricane upon its sides. It contains, however, about 8000 inhabitants, of which only about 500 are whites. We stopped here to exchange the mails, bearing, as the captain informed us afterwards, one letter, and bringing away two papers. He pointed out to us the situation of Williamstown, a colony of Africans, who have been rescued at different times from slave ships by British cruisers, and placed on this island. They at first were apprenticed out to learn trades, but on the first of August were entirely emancipated.—They now number about 500. They cultivate the lands which have been given them, and are becoming, according to our captain, so prosperous as to be quite impertinent and saucy. They are acquiring education, and to use his own words "are getting on well." The sauciness of which he spoke, consisted as I learned from him on further enquiry, in the abominable fact that they preferred to live by themselves and independently cultivate their own grounds to become retainers on the estates around them. They have been taught by bitter experience, that of robbery and blood, the value of the white man's patronage. They have learned a truth, which the negroes in some of the islands have embodied in a proverb, "Buchra's love is like the scurvy—it eat off toe and finger." We endeavored to obtain some particulars about them, but the captain's mind had only a certain scope of territory round which it travelled, like a blind horse in a mill, and beyond which its tether-line would not permit it to pass. He had one tune which he whistled and one course of narrative which he always pursued. We could learn nothing definite. In whatever direction he set out, he always was sure to end in the sauciness of the poor colonist. That was the harbor in which he last cast anchor, and where we in despair permitted him to remain.

ST. KITTS.

When we retired to our berth, we did not expect to put to sea again till morning, but when we went on deck just as the sun rose, Tortola was looming up in the distance behind us like a huge mass of clouds. What sailors call a "stiff breeze" had sprung up about 11 o'clock, of which the captain took advantage, and we woke to find ourselves driving rapidly towards St. Kitts. We passed Saba, a small, unproductive island, in the course of the day, and about 8 o'clock on Tuesday morning, threw anchor off Basseterre, the chief town of St. Kitts. As we found we should be detained here till noon in exchanging the mails, we accompanied the captain on shore. As the sea was calm, we landed without any difficulty, though it is said, when the waves are high, to be attended with considerable danger, as there are no wharves and the surge dashes very heavily on the open beach. Basseterre is not a place of much trade. It presents a dilapidated appearance, the buildings being mostly wooden, unpainted and in poor repair. It seems smitten and scathed with the curse of slavery. The streets are narrow, as are all the West Indian streets I have yet seen, and much more uneven and dirty than those of St. Thomas. The air, too, is pent and arid. The adjoining country is beautiful, its verdant fields, adorned with trees and shrubs, rising up gradually from the sea, in gentle undulations, to lofty and inaccessible mountains in the interior. Plantations, or estates as they are generally termed here of sugar-cane, are seen in various directions, with their wind-mills, boiling-houses, negro-huts, managers' residences, &c. Occasionally surrounded by the most beautiful groves I have yet seen in these island, are beheld the stately mansion of some lordly proprietor.

WORKING OF THE APPRENTICESHIP.

We called, during our stay, on the Rev. James Home, a Wesleyan missionary, who received us very courteously and with whom we spent two hours in an interesting conversation. He has been in the West Indies since 1790, and is well acquainted with the condition of the islands before and since emancipation. We were also introduced to another gentleman who is a creole. They spoke of that which they had seen, and some part of which they were.—St. Kitts is one of the islands still burdened with the abominations of slavery under the deceitful name of the apprenticeship. Thanks to the mildness and forbearance of its victims, the system is working better than could have been expected. There is no nation under heaven, I believe, that would bear what the negroes have. Cheated as they believe themselves to be, and cheated as they really are, they are now peaceable and industrious. Considerable disturbances, however, occurred here in August, 1834, immediately after the pseudo-emancipation bill went into effect. The apprentices could not understand the absurd system imposed on them. The very name deceived them. "Apprentices," they said "what for me be apprentice? Me know well enough how dig cane-hole now. No want to be apprentice to learn dig cane-hole sure." Then how they could be free and yet be compelled to work without pay, was another stumbling-block. They thought their masters had conspired together to cheat them. "God and Wilberforce and the king had made them free," they said, "and they would be free." They knew, too, that the slaves in Antigua were entirely free, and that strengthened their opinion that their masters were cheating them, "Slave be free in Antigua." They would say. "why no free here? Ah, Gobernor General lib Antigua, dere de be free, cause he make massa do right. Gubernor General lib here, we be free too." They crowded the churches on the memorable FIRST OF AUGUST, and gave most solemn and devout attention. There was not the least insubordination or rioting during the day or night. A quiet sabbath feeling pervaded every heart. But when the time arrived for them to go to work they utterly refused. "God and Wilberfore and the king had made them free and they *would* be free,"—they repeated. On some plantations they refused to lift a hoe. So strongly did they believe they were as free as their brethren in Antigua, that they would not credit even the ministers, whom they had always before trusted as their best friends. The planters were infuriated and resorted to the most injudicious measures,—and had not McGregor, the Governor General arrived, there would probably have been a terrible slaughter. He arrayed the troops and order was soon restored. No violence was committed by the negroes, and only one of their number was killed, and he was accidentally shot.—They went to work, but they still believe they are cheated, and that they ought by the law of the king, to be free.

The negroes are said to be very fond of making extempore rhymes on any very important event, and they evinced this passion by producing several stanzas on this subject. One of them has been written down for us by a young man who is well acquainted with the negro dialect. It runs as follows—

"The king him make him law
The negur to be free,
Old Nixon read'um wrong
And trouble much are we."

This they always sung with peculiar emphasis whenever they saw "Old Nixon" in the street. It is said he was so vexed by it that he would sometimes stop his carriage, and pour out bitter oaths on the offenders, who would quickly vanish into some by-street.

DISPOSITION OF THE PLANTERS.

A great majority of the planters still retain their old domineering feelings and habits, and are disposed to make the apprenticeship system move as heavily as possible. They exact every moment of the time permitted by law (45 hours per week) and so divide and cut up the hours of labor, that the apprentice has little chance to benefit himself by what remains. The women have hardly time to wash their clothes. The apprentice has been deprived, too, of many little, but to him valuable, privileges, which he formerly enjoyed. His provision grounds have been taken from him. He is not allowed to cut grass on the waste lands, or gather wood on the mountains,—but both acts are made theft. One fact will illustrate the vexatious measures to which the planters sometimes resort to irritate the apprentice and goad him on to commit offences, which are referred to as the effects of emancipation. On one estate the manager drew off all the rain-water which had been caught by the laborers, and which they were accustomed to sell in town for a few sorry pence. Excited by this wanton outrage, in revenge, they set fire to the boiling house which was consumed. This is the arbitrary spirit which slavery begets, and which manifests itself long after the system that excites it is abolished. It is a wise ordination of Deity that sin should ever pour from its own treasures some fierce and fiery judgment on the heads of its doers. It is as true in the sense of slavery as in any other.

INDUSTRY OF THE APPRENTICE.

But notwithstanding the harsh and vexatious treatment which the apprentice receives he is more industrious than under the old system. The estates are generally better cultivated than formerly, and are becoming more and more so. Several of the planters are making improvements by hiring laborers from other estates after they have performed their regular tasks. They are found to work far better for wages than under the compulsory law. Mr. *Cash* here as in South Africa is found to be a more successful master than Mr. *Lash*. Indeed some of the planters, even setting aside *principle* altogether, have been *wise* enough, to reject the apprenticeship and unconditionally and fully to liberate their slaves. Lord Romney, who has an estate on which were 200 slaves, is an instance. Almost every individual of them remains at his old home and labors diligently. He is outstripping in improvements very far—the estates around him which still withold the wages of those who reap down their fields. Besides the satisfaction of knowing that he has done *right*, which will be a well of pleasure ever springing up in his bosom, his pecuniary prospects were never so good as at present. Those who have taken the same course are succeeding in the same manner. If the people of the south would build up their waste places, if they would drive out the bittern and the fox from their forsaken mansions, and redeem their fields from the desolation which is coming over them, and remove from their halls of learning the dust and the spider's web which are gathered there, and bring back to the house of God, now desolate *and silent*, the voice of the preacher, and the bended knee of the devout worshippers,—LET THEM MAKE FREEMEN OF THEIR SLAVES.

The apprentices are very anxious to purchase their freedom, and do so as soon as they obtain the means. The valuations of their time are not, however, fairly made. In some instances they have been obliged to pay as much for the remaining time of their apprenticeship as they were considered worth during slavery. Even this price they pay rather than be slaves.

EDUCATION.

One good effect even of the *practical* emancipation which has taken place, is the increased attention paid to education. The apprentices manifest a great desire to have their children instructed, and willingly contribute of their slight earnings for that purpose. Private schools have been established among them, which they patronize as far as their means will permit. There is an excellent school under the charge of the Episcopal church, which contains about 90 scholars. There was formerly what was called a charity school, supported by funds from the public treasury, into which the colored man paid taxes as well as the white;—but the colored child, by the same prejudice which is crushing one sixth of our own population, was excluded from it. The colored people made great exertions against such injustice, and at last succeeded, not in obtaining admission for their children—for that the aristocratic legislature would not grant, but abolishing the school. There is none now supported by government. Some free colored persons who are wealthy, are sending their children to Europe to be educated. The abolition of slavery has, *in law*, left the way of preferment open to them, and they are disposed to *prepare* themselves now to enter upon it. One gentleman was named to us, who has sent two sons to England to be educated for professions. I trust we shall hear from them in the pulpit or at the bar, at some future day, pleading the cause of their brethren and rousing them up by their own high example and fervid words to the noble deeds of christian manhood.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE.

The influence of religion on the apprentices is much more extensive and salutary. They are now accessible. The plantations are not shut against the missionary as formerly. Besides this, the appren-

tice himself is now frank and confiding. He is more ready to listen to religious instruction, and more ready to follow it. The doing even of a *part* of justice by the white man, is opening the heart of the negro to the light, against which the wrongs and outrages of slavery had closed it. The sabbath, though it is more regarded than formerly, is still greatly profaned. It is still the great market day. The apprentices excuse themselves from its observance by throwing the blame on the managers. They say, and with much truth, that they have not time, they have to work so hard during the week that they want the day to rest, or to sell their provisions. They are, I am happy to say, reforming, and have already contributed sufficient funds to erect two new chapels.—Marriages are becoming much more frequent, and are more regarded. Many difficulties, however, are caused by the folly and wickedness of the planters, who are endeavoring to prevent marriages performed by Wesleyan missionaries from being considered legal. The question is not yet decided.

SPECIAL MAGISTRATES.

We find that the special magistrates are not in very good repute among the planters. The latter regard them, to use the expression of Mr. H., "as the devil does holy water." They frequently, however, take pains to caress and flatter them, by giving them rich dinners, visiting them and bestowing other marks of attention, in order to gain their partialities. If they find them still disposed to discharge their duties faithfully, they soon forsake them. The negroes, on the contrary, regard them as their best friends. I was glad to learn that three of them in St. Kitts, and several in other islands, are colored men.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

Prejudice, as this last fact will show, though still existing in some considerable degree, is fast disappearing. The law has made all colors politically equal, and education will soon make them socially so. As the colored people acquire intelligence and wealth, which they will do under the auspices of freedom, the distinctions which have so long marked them, will be banished. Besides colored magistrates and members of the police, nearly one eighth part of the members of the House of Assembly, and among them three of the four representing Basseterre, are colored. The number increases at every election. There are regular canvassings by colored candidates, who in several instances have triumphed over white competitors.

NEVIS.

After leaving St. Kitts the next island at which we called was Nevis, which is separated from the former only by a narrow channel. We did not come to anchor here, but our vessel lay off and on about half an hour while the captain went ashore with the letter-bag. This island presents a beautiful appearance as you pass it on the west, and is considered one of the most fertile of the windward group. I observed several neat little cottages near the shore, painted white and with fences and shrubbery around them, which seemed more like the pleasant farm-houses of New England than any I have yet seen.—There are warm baths here which are somewhat famous in this region for their medicinal virtues. But the most grateful sight was a large school-house, which had just been erected. It was situated about a quarter of a mile from the coast in a pleasant valley and was almost surrounded by trees. It was nearly a hundred feet long, one story high and built in the open manner of the West India houses. Instead of the glass windows which we have at home, its whole side seemed one frame of green lattice work, surrounded with a border of white. It had a very cool and airy appearance, and seemed a fit haunt for the muses in a tropic climate. It stood up as the first monument which freedom had erected above the desolations of slavery.

MONTSERRAT.

We touched at Montserrat sometime during Wednesday night, but at what hour or for how long I know not, for from 9 o'clock till 5, I was soundly asleep in my berth, and when I went on deck in the morning, we were several miles distant from it beating our way against the trade-winds towards Antigue. Montserrat is a mountainous island, and in many parts quite inaccessible. From the form of its hills, and its general appearance, it seems to have been thrown up from the ocean by some violent eruption. Traces of volcanoes, I am informed, are yet found in various places. These have ceased to burn for very many years, but the elements of another, a different kind but not less fearful, still exists in its midst, & threaten to pour desolation through its whole social and political system. The apprenticeship is adopted here, and is heaping up materials and kindling a flame that will, I fear break forth on that community in conflagration and ruin. There is great uneasiness already among the apprentices. Like those of St. Kitts, they believe that their masters have combined to cheat them out of their freedom which God and the king have given them. Added to this a bad spirit is excited by the vexatious treatment which they receive, the petty but severe aggressions which are made on their privileges and rights,—the last acts of the tyrant whose power is soon to be wrested from him. They are exceedingly restless and irritable. The excitement will be increased by the emancipation of the non-predials (those not engaged in agriculture) in 1838. The bill which announces freedom to them, if it announce not also freedom to the *whole*, will be the signal bell of insurrection. Several large planters have made a merit of necessity, and knowing that abolition must inevitably come at a fixed period, have secured the favor of the negroes on their estates by anticipating the event, and emancipating them unconditionally at once. They are prospering *now* far better than those who are determined to hold on to their victims to the last moment,—and when entire freedom comes, they will be moving on with the good will of their laborers, while the others will have to contend with the ill feelings which the apprenticeship has engendered.

An Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery **Society**, was formed in West Amesbury on the **7th ult.**

The object of the Society as expressed in its constitution, is "to effect by moral and constitutional means the entire emancipation of our fellow men now in slavery in the United States, and to elevate them to their proper rank as rational, accountable and immortal beings; and thus to save our country from the dangers to which it is exposed from the direct influences of slavery, and from the judgments of heaven."

Investigator, No. 6.

The 8th section in the 1st article of the constitution gives to the Congress of the United States power "To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, SUPPRESS INSURRECTIONS, and repel invasions."

The 4th section in article 4th is as follows,—

"The United States shall guaranty to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) *against* DOMESTIC VIOLENCE."

If the constitution of the United States does guaranty to certain states a right of holding slaves, it must be admitted that this instrument affects the interests of the different sections of the country very unequally; for, to the inhabitants of one portion, it gives a right of raising up a domestic enemy in the midst, which enemy it binds the inhabitants of the other portion to keep in subjection by the employment of military forces. No such agreement appears, by the letter of the constitution, to have been entered into by our fathers; and we have no right to infer such an agreement from their probable intentions, as they surely would not have, *intentionally*, entered into an agreement, of which all the advantages would certainly accrue to one party, and all the disadvantages would fall to the lot of the other. We may not, indeed, infer a surrender of a just and equal right, or an assumption of an unequal responsibility, by one party to a written agreement, unless the instrument plainly shows that the other party has surrendered some right, or assumed some responsibility as a quid pro quo.

That there was an agreement entered into by the several states to assist each other in the suppression of insurrections *against the just and equal laws of those states*, by the acknowledged citizens of those states, is not to be denied; for thus far the obligations were mutual and the advantages equal; but, that one portion of the states entered into an agreement with another portion to assist a majority of their population in enforcing upon the minority, such laws as were totally destructive of the personal rights of that minority, and such laws as were intended to authorize and perpetuate oppression, cannot be admitted.

The 4th section of the 4th article of the constitution of the United States *does guaranty to every state in the Union a republican form of government*, and it is a matter of some consequence that the people should ascertain what a republican government is, in order that they may understand what they have pledged themselves to secure to each state.

A republican government is one which admits that all the powers of government are vested in the united body of the people; which acknowledges its own powers to have been derived immediately from the people; and which claims a right to the exercise of no authority, but such as it exercises by the consent of the governed. Whenever such government assumes and exercises powers, which have *not* been conferred upon it by the people, or attempts to enforce unequal or oppressive laws, or such laws as are destructive of the natural rights of a portion of the people, the distinctive characteristics of a republican government are lost, and the government becomes at once a despotism. Instead, therefore, of having pledged ourselves to assist in the perpetuation of slavery, an institution which robs a large proportion of our countrymen of their *natural* and *unalienable rights*, as is frequently asserted, *we have solemnly bound ourselves to guaranty, to each state in this Union, such a form of government as will protect* EQUALLY *the rights of all our countrymen resident in that state; and such a form of government as can tolerate slavery only at the expense of its own existence.*

The 1st clause in section 2d of the 4th article is as follows:—

"The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states."

This clause was undoubtedly intended to secure to a citizen of one state all the privileges and immunities of a citizen, in any state which he might choose to visit; and there can be no doubt that it was intended to secure these privileges and immunities to the colored, as well as to the white citizen. But what protection does this article give to the colored citizen of a free state when on a visit to a slaveholding state? On entering one of the slave states, a colored citizen of New-Hampshire, (for colored people in New-Hampshire are acknowledged as citizens) finds a presumption that he is a slave at once raised from the color of his skin. He is called upon to produce a certificate of his freedom; and being unable to produce such certificate, he is committed to prison and advertised as a runaway slave. He is then required to disclose the name of his master, and subjected to repeated floggings in order to compel such disclosure. After an imprisonment of several months, no person having appeared to claim him as a slave, *he is* SOLD AT AUCTION to pay the expenses of his *unconstitutional imprisonment*.—A free colored citizen of New-Hampshire visits the state of Maryland, and remains there for the space of one week; when he finds that he has subjected himself to a fine of fifty dollars *for remaining one week in that state*, and, being unable to pay it, *he is* SOLD INTO SLAVERY.

These evils result from the circumstance that the free colored person is not acknowledged as a citizen in any one of the slaveholding states, and their laws can make no distinction between the colored inhabitants of those states and the colored inhabitants of other states, who may visit them.

Now what remedy can persons thus sold have against the persons who have unjustifiably robbed them of their personal freedom? Whatever rights they might once have had *as men*, they cannot now become parties in a legal suit, having been *legally* converted into mere articles of *personal property*. Individuals in New Hampshire may not interfere with this matter, because it would be an interference with the rights of our *southern brethren*. It would be an attempt to meddle with a VERY DELICATE SUBJECT. Indeed so very delicate that it cannot bear the slightest constitutional handling without total annihilation. The state of New-Hampshire may not move in the affair, because it would be an interferance with the *internel regulations* of a sister state. The general government may not lend its aid, lest the state by whose laws this wrong has been inflicted, falling back upon its RESERVED RIGHTS, should secede from the Union.

If the state government have the power of thus setting at naught this clause of the constitution of the United States, let the clause be immediately *expunged* from that instrument.—Let the colored citizen of the north know that his rights will not, or cannot be protected at the south, and he will be careful to remain where he can enjoy, at least, a nominal freedom. He will confine himself to that portion of our *free country*, where he will suffer *only* from the prejudices which exist against the color which the Almighty has given to his skin, and the occasional violence of those discriminating mobs, which are now found to be so necessary for the interpretation and preservation of OUR GLORIOUS CONSTITUTION.

The 1st article of the amendments to the constitution of the United States is as follows:—

"Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

This article, although chiefly intended to restrict the powers of Congress, evidently requires that the Congress shall give a respectful attention to such petitions as the people, or any part of the people may think proper to present for their consideration. It as clearly withholds from this body the right of refusing to hear the petitions read, as it does the right of enacting laws prohibiting the presentation of them; for the right of presenting petitions to be unceremoniously disposed of, without their contents being known to all the members of the Congress, would be of such trifling consequence, that no stipulation for its protection would ever have found its way into the constitution of the United States. This article was clearly designed to secure to the people, and to any part of the people, the right of laying before Congress a statement of such grievances as they might suffer, *in order that those grievances might be carefully and impartially examined*, and A REMEDY FOR THEM PROVIDED.

Here is a right as plainly secured to any and every portion of the people of the United States, as any other right mentioned in the constitution. Can the House of Representatives of the United States then, by the adoption of a rule requiring all petitions which may be presented, having relation to a particular subject, to be laid on the table without reading, render this guaranty of a right void? Such is the disposal which has been made with petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. If petitions on the subject of slavery may thus be disposed of by one sweeping rule of the House, all petitions on any and every other subject may be disposed of in the same manner, and thus this article of the constitution may be rendered a perfect nullity. If this article may be thus nullified, another and another may be disposed of in a like manner, until the whole constitution shall have been virtually rescinded by congressional rules, and all the rights of the people shall have been subjected to the irresponsible will of those persons who shall be the servants of the people. When the people of the United States shall have quietly submitted to such contemptuous treatment from their servants in a single instance, the time will not be far distant when their servants shall have become their *masters*, and the boasted REPUBLIC of the United States shall have given place to a perfect DESPOTISM.

The 2d article of the Amendments is as follows:

"A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a *free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.*"

In this article the right of keeping and bearing arms is secured, so far as paper contracts can give security, *to every individual* resident within the limits of the United States. But it is a well known fact, that hundreds of thousands of the inhabitans of our country are deprived, by law, of the right of keeping arms. I am no advocate for arming the slave population of our country, while they continue to be held as slaves; but I am an advocate for abolishing that slavery which renders it necessary to deprive a portion of our population of a right secured to them by the constitution. Until slavery shall be affolished among us, necessity will compel us to disregard this article, and to deprive a portion of our population of a right acknowledged, and secured to them, by that constitution which we declare shall be the *supreme law of the land*. If we have any thing to do with violations of the constitution, we have surely something to do with the institution of slavery, and some duties to perform in relation to it.

An Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the N. H. **Anti-Slavery Society**, was organized at Peterborough, on the 13th ult. Dea. John Todd, President, Dea. Moses Cheney, Vice President—Rufus Hyde, Secretary—John Dickinson, Treasurer.

Proceedings, Preamble and Constitution, hereafter.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Mr. Editor,—I notice in one of your late papers some remarks in answer to a communication of mine on Political Anti-Slavery. Believing this subject to be an important one I proceed to reply to them. "Let us," says your correspondent, "bear an uncompromising testimony against slavery." Now, sir, it is in order that we may do all this by our actions, as well as by our speech, that I desire the political organization of abolitionists. I am well aware that partizanship is liable to be carried to extremes, and that if we become so organized we shall need to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves." But in such an organization what would be our object? Not certainly to sustain this or that administration, or to take any part in those great questions which divide the political parties of the day; nor yet to absorb them in the great question of slavery. But our object would be one far more noble. It would be to bear "uncompromising testimony against slavery" by withholding our votes from any man who would aid in perpetuating the system. Among abolitionists every shade of political and religious opinion is to be found. There are Whigs and Democrats, Christians and Infidels. They are united only in the belief that "slavery ought to be abolished, now and forever." On the other hand, there are many to be found, among those calling themselves anti-abolitionists, who would put forth all their energies to abolish slavery, wherever Congress can constitutionally do so. We cannot therefore suppose it practicable, or that it is at all to be desired, that we should elect none but those who fight under our peculiar banner. But we can pledge ourselves to vote for no man who will not use the power vested in him to abolish that system of bondage and cruelty for which we are as a nation, and as individuals (if we do not act thus) responsible. My desire is that every man who believes slavery to be an evil, and that Congress has the power to free the nation from a participation in it may be brought to take this stand.

Now if this were done, would it follow as a necessary consequence, that we must in all cases nominate our own candidates, in opposition to those of other parties? I think not, but that the natural consequence would be to induce the other parties to bring forward candidates for whom we could consistently vote. Then Whigs and Democrats could each take their proper place. But should they fail to do this, then it would be our duty to bring forward candidates of our own, that our skirts might be clear from the sin of upholding slavery. And in my opinion this would be no surrender of "principle to nonescisical farce," but on the contrary would be discarding farce and rigidly adhering to principle. But your correspondent supposes that petitioning will answer the purpose. It is far from my intention to undervalue in the least the right of petition. Nay, I hold it to be an invaluable right. I can with a "just disdain, frown" upon those representatives of the people who have said we will not hear your petitions, they are not worthy our consideration, and with as just complacency, smile upon those who, with untiring assiduity have resisted the encroachment made upon that sacred right. Nobly have they defended it. May their numbers be increased, and when these preliminary questions are settled, and we have obtained a fair and impartial hearing, may they have the privilege of capping the climax of their earthly glory by a participation in that final vote which shall free us as a nation from the guilt of slavery. But the right of petition has its proper place. With freemen and where the suffrage is universal, it is but secondary. When we approach the polls it is not as suppliants, but as sovereigns we there make known our wishes and demand their fulfilment. And when a man is elected, known to hold certain principles, it is understood that those principles are held by a majority of the electors. Whoever will notice the course of politicians will see that it is almost an invariable rule with them to interpret the public mind in this way. And let us but reelect those New-Hampshire representatives who have proved recreant to the trust reposed in them by aiding in encroaching upon our inherent, constitutional rights, and they will say we have sanctioned what they have done, and will again insultingly refuse to hear our petitions. I entirely approve the suggestion of your correspondent respecting petitions to the State Legislature, and I hope his advice will be adopted. But we have a more important duty to perform. Let us remember that we, the people, form the body according to our wishes. In its formation we are sovereign and can command; when formed we can petition. "The one we ought to do and not leave the other undone." But your correspondent cannot see how the consciences of men can be appealed to when or even if the question were made a political one. For my part I think our appeals would tell with double force, for we could not only convince them of the evil, but show them how to get rid of it and unless they put forth their power to do so they would be verily guilty of upholding it. But we are not left to speculate in this matter we have the example of British abolitionists before us, and we ought to profit by it. They were not content with decrying the system of slavery, petitioning Parliament for its abolition and praying that God would incline the hearts of the rulers to grant the prayer of their petition. No! they saw that God had blessed them with other means—that he had given them the power to elect members of Parliament who would fulfil their desires, and they felt their responsibility to him for the use of it. They felt it their duty to let the oppressed have the benefits of this power, which God had entrusted to them, and they pledged themselves to elect no member to Parliament who was not pledged to exert himself to obtain the abolition of slavery. Believing if they acted otherwise they would be guilty of the sin of upholding it. Conventions of the church and ministers of the gospel promulgated this doctrine, and enforced it on the consciences of men. Thus their preaching, their prayers to God, their petitions to Parliament, and their votes as electors, all bore uncompromising testimony against slavery." So that with one House of Parliament irresponsible, and with a limited suffrage in choosing members of the other, they accomplished their purpose; the "oppressor was vanquished" and the captive set free. God grant that we may be induced to use all the rights and privileges which we enjoy to the furtherance of the same blessed object, and that our efforts may be crowned with like success. I will close this communication by a quotation from the address to the people of New-Hampshire. "The guilt and shame of tolerating and upholding it, (slavery) are strictly national. It thus becomes the right, nay the solemn duty, of every, and all the people, in every part of the land, to interfere, and through their representatives in Congress put forth their power for its abolition. The duty is solemn and imperative and cannot be neglected by any one without incurring the guilt and consenting to the system." Let us but act consistently with this doctrine, and I have no doubt we shall act prudently, wisely, and judiciously.

CONSISTENCY.

Dover, Feb. 27, 1837.

For the Herald of Freedom.

It is highly creditable to the moral principles and moral courage of several of the most distinguished clergymen in Massachusetts that they have *dared* so far to vow an abhorrence of slavery, as to put their names to petitions to Congress for its abolition in the District of Columbia. We refer especially to William E. Channing, John Codman, Convers Francis, and John Pierpont. Dr. Channing is indeed probably identified with the "fanatics" in the estimation of the south; and it is not many years since one of Mr. Pierpont's justly popular school books was returned by some of the southern booksellers for containing the excellent article from one of England's excellent poets,

"I would not have a slave to till the ground."

A letter from a friend in Boston, speaks of Mr. Pierpont as beginning to manifest sympathy with suffering men as well as beasts who are subjected to cruel treatment. It will be recollected that Mr. Pierpont's school books contain some good articles on cruelty to animals, and he has even made it a theme of pulpit discourse. He formerly exhibited a great degree of moral courage in advocating with distinguished zeal and ability, the cause of temperance, at the time somewhat unpopular; and it does not surprise us that he fearlessly expresses his detestation of the accursed institution of slavery.

The letter says:

"To-day, (the 29th,) Mr. Pierpont took occasion to say in his pulpit, that he abhorred the institution of slavery; that it was in all and every respect wrong for man to hold his fellow man in bondage. That he judged it proper and respectful that he should let his hearers or parishioners know his opinions on all important subjects. That it was proper for him to show, and he wished there were a window in his breast that all might see his thoughts. 'Is it asked,' said he, 'Am I an abolitionist?' 'I answer, I am, though I belong to no abolition society.' 'Am I for immediate abolition?' I answer, 'Did it depend on my individual act, this sun should not rise upon a single slave throughout the world.'"

This is noble, it is consistent. We have only to wish that other ministers, whatever their denomination, may "do likewise." N.

For the Herald of Freedom.

SOUTHSWORTH, Feb. 23, 1837.

Mr. Editor.—I am directed by the officers of the Great Falls Anti-Slavery Society to transmit to you for publication in your paper the following resolutions passed at their last meeting held at Dr. J. McCrillis' office Friday evening Feb. 17, and afterwards sanctioned by the *yeas* of a large number of the members of said society who are Voters, and who were called on individually for an expression of their sentiment on the subject.

Resolved, That we will not support any person as a Representative to the state legislature, or to the Congress of the United States who is not a decided abolitionist.

Resolved, That it is our duty to, and that we will support for those important offices, such person or persons as are the known and avowed friends of abolitionism, in preference to those who are not, other political questions being in our view of secondary consequence.

Voted, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be sent by the Secretary to the Editors of the Herald of Freedom and Morning Star for publication.

Yours in the cause of universal freedom,

T. B. MOSES, *Sec'y*

G. F. A. S. *Society.*

FRUIT GOLLAR.

FRESH ORANGES, LEMONS, APPLES, RAISINS, FIGS, COCOA, AND OTHER GOODS—Constantly on hand

At Hide of Representative.

Fresh Oysters, &c. &c.

CALVIN EATON

Low's Block opposite the P. O.

N. B. No ARDENT SPIRITS.

POETRY.

For the Herald of Freedom.

"'Tis said that the slave mother often rejoices to witness the death of her children, as a relief from that misery to which they would otherwise be subjected."

Yes, thou wert dear as freedom's child,
With soul as pure, the mind as free
As breezes on the mountain wild
Unchained, unknown to slavery.

Gem of my soul! my love to thee
Was all a mother's breast could know,
And yet I cannot shrink to meet
The marble chillness of thy brow.

For I do feel that thou hast died,
This heart each agony to spare,
These sorrows which I cannot hide,
Thy mother boy, a slave must bear.

And hadst thou lived, the lash, the chain,
Were made for mortals like to thee,
To think that thou'd escape were vain,
Boy of my love! thou now art free.

That thrilling word wakes through my breast,
A joy the slave can only know,
'Tis that which gives my sorrows rest,
While bending o'er thine icy brow.

I would my child that like to thee,
My chains were burst, my pulses still,
This spirit free'd from slavery,
This body wrapped in deadly chill.

But hark! methinks I hear thy voice,
'Tis joyous! 'tis joyous! again and again,
'Tis the song of a seraph, rejoice! rejoice!
Breath, breath, it's for aye, I would echo the strain.

Mother, dear mother, methinks is its song,
List, list to the voice of thy free'd happy one,
No slavery's here, we're free! we're free!
Mother, dear mother, Oh! haste thee to me.

I hear not the lash, I see not the chain,
No sound wakes the ear, save joyous the strain,
No groanings are heard, we're free! we're free!
Mother, dear mother, Oh! haste thee to me.

List, list thee my mother for canst thou not hear,
The voice of thy loved one so blest and so dear
And art thou not happy? Thou know'st that I'm free!
And happy, thrice happy thy spirit must be.

Soon, soon thou wilt join us, thy fetters be rent,
Where the songs of the free'd with spirits are blent,
Who sought while on earth our chains to dissever,
And led the dark captive to praise *Him* forever
Whose spirit had taught them that equal were made,
The soul of the master, and crushed-spirit slave.

E. M. S.

Franklin, N. H.

From the Massachusetts Spy.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled.

"And, above all, to prevent the master spirits who are covertly moving this grand machine, from making this District the FULCRUM on which to plant their *lever*, by which this Government, (the world's best hope,) may be uprooted and overturned, &c. &c."—*See Remonstrance of Grand Jury of District of Columbia.*

Aye, it will be a *fulcrum*, on which they will place
A LEVER, but not, as is said, to o'erturn
The world's dearest hope, but the foulest disgrace,
O'er which the Philanthropist e'er paused to mourn.

The world's dearest hope?—The by-word, the scorn
Of our *friends* transatlantic, as well as our *foes*,
Oh! how has our Sun of his bright beams been shorn,
Since, in splendor unrivalled, majestic he rose.

What strange contradiction! when far o'er the earth
The fame of our Freedom has boastfully gone,
While, with shame be it said, from the hour of their birth,
Its blessings from millions are wholly withdrawn.

You send forth your sympathies far from this land,
To the Heathen benighted, the Greeks and the Poles,
While, in sight of your eye, and in reach of your hand,
The iron is entering your Countrymen's souls.

A practical nullity, too, are our rights
Of petition, while thus their receipt is denied,
Who, then, shall redress us, when Congress unites
Each petition to slight, each remonstrance deride.

In your body august, say, is there but one
That dares follow the path which a Wilberforce trod,
Till that one kindling star* on his dying eye shone,
And his spirit, exalted, went up to his God.

It will not long be thus—look abroad on our youth,
In whose souls there is kindled so holy a fire,
Which will keep up the flame on the altar of truth,
And of Slavery light the funeral pyre.

They will soon spring to manhood—the men of their choice
Will be those by no danger from duty deterred,
In the Halls of our Capitol then shall the voice
Of our Pitts and our Foxes, with rapture be heard.

A Weld and a Whittier yet may be there,
And thither a Stanton and Burleigh may come,
With others whose names stand *as high* and *as fair*,
From many a hill-side, and greca mountain home.

You know them by character—oft have you read
Their life-breathing thoughts, and their soul-thrilling words;
With such legislators there need be no dread,
But each right will be granted which Freedom accords.

But may YOU crush the worm which gnaws at the root
Of our free institutions, before they shall fall;
If the tree is corrupted, how surely the fruit,
Although fair to the eye, on the palate will pall.

A worm?—'Tis a Hydra—and yours is the arm
Of Herculean strength—if it deal but one blow,
He gasps, and he dies, you have power to disarm
The monster of strength, and to vanquish the foe.

There need be no bloodshed, there need be no war,
If our wise legislators are Christians indeed,
"Do justly—love Mercy"—and soon, from afar,
Shall the bright sun of Liberty beam on the freed.

Though the clouds be portentous—though murky and dark
With the waters of strife, they awhile may increase,
If YOU but act righteously, soon to the Ark
The dove shall return with the emblem of Peace.

And, spanning full wide our political heaven,
When the storm which now threatens has harmlessly passed,
With its key-stone of Truth, a bright arch shall be given,
To show that our Freedom forever shall last.

2nd mo. 11th, 1837. ADA.

* The news of the passage of the Emancipation bill in the English Parliament.

MISCELLANY.

Alliance between Religion and Liberty.

Religion is an ennobling principle. It tells us that we are of an divine origin, and lie in the arms of a universal Providence; that we are connected with immortal powers by our dependence, and with an immortal life by our hopes and our destiny. It sets at a far higher elevation than could else be thought of, the dignity of our race, and the worth of the intelligence that is within us. It inspires the conviction that we are made for no mean purposes; and that they should not live as slaves upon the earth who are encouraged to expect something beyond its highest distinctions. It gives that moral courage and noble intent, which are the way to the inheritance of the best advantages. How often has it been seen in advance of prevailing opinions and manners, leading them forward! How often has it furnished the first occasion for bold inquiries to go forth, and liberal truths to make themselves felt and recognised! The reply has been well pressed on those who have wished that the African slaves might be instructed in the Christian faith; you will thus make them impatient of their subjection; you will teach them to be free: you cannot drive and scourge the bodies of a population after you have emancipated their souls; keep them, *if you would keep them at all, in the* deepest ignorance; an ignorance as dark as God has made their skin, and as abject as you have made their fate.

Religion is an equalizing principle. It treats with utter disregard those differences among men which are produced by necessity, altered by accident, destroyed by time. It tells those in the humblest condition that they are of one blood with the proudest; and that the common Father, who has made the light to fall as sweet, and the courses of nature to roll as gloriously round one as another, has appointed a world in which the only distinction is righteousness. It tells the great and the most fully prospered, and the most brilliantly endowed, that God looks not on the outward appearance, but searches the heart. It binds all by the same obligations, and invites all to the same blessings. It includes all under sin. It offers the same consolations for troubles, from which the most favored classes are not exempted. It points to an impartial Sovereign, before whom the high and low, they who govern and they who serve, stand on the common level of humanity. It maintains just those truths which exalt the poor in spirit, and the depressed in circumstances, and bring down the haughty imaginations of those who would lord it over their fellows. It shows so many respects, in which we are alike and dependent, as to forbid presumption on one side; and, on the other, so many circumstances by which we are alike distinguished, as to raise the lowest above base compliances. It bows us down together in prayer, and who then will boast of his superiority? It assigns us our rest together in the dust, and what then will become of the superiority? It ranges us together before the judgment-seat, and how will the oppressor appear there?

Religion is a moral principle—essentially and vitally so; and in this view its importance to the cause of freedom is incalculable. That it has been refined away into unprofitable subtilties, that its records have been misinterpreted into all abomination, and its services fooled into mummery and a mask, there is no denying. But it is equally undeniable that good sentiments and conduct are the very signs of its life. Its great law is duty. Its crowning glory is moral excellence. In spite of all the corruptions which ignorance and fraud, ambition and frenzy, have heaped upon it, it has been always accomplishing much in the work of a spiritual regeneration. It has spread itself through the masses of society like a refiner's fire. That it does no more for the community we may wonder, perhaps; but there is cause of thankfulness that it does so much. It is the most precious auxiliary of liberty, then; for, without moral cultivation, what would that be but lawlessness, a wild state of insecurity and excesses! It is righteousness that makes a people fit to be free, and noble in its freedom.

Religion is an independent principle. It ill bears dictation and control. It is jealous of its freedom. It dwells in its own world of thought and hope, and sensibility, and refuses there to yield to the hand of a master. It sets up its altars and holy usages; and has it not always been one of the most perilous attempts of tyranny to violate or overthrow them? "And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, they blew an alarm with the trumpets and appealed to heaven." Many of the earliest resistances to oppression sprang from indignation at an abridged liberty here. The rights of conscience were among the first to be discerned and acted on. The maintaining of them long preceded the abstract discussions of political rights, and prepared men for the understanding and defence of those also. The patriot has taken copy of the martyr. The struggle for free thought has led on the struggle for free government. There is a force in religious conviction and feeling that is the most expansive of all forces. It cannot be restrained by any arbitrary impositions. It owns obedience to nothing but the truth, and the truth in both a political and moral sense, makes men free.

FROTHINGHAM.

The Massachusetts Madman.

"Though this be madness, yet there's method in it."

The phrase which we make use of as a title for this article is furnished by the Albany Argus. The reader will see in what manner it is employed in that decent and courteous journal, by perusing the following paragraph;

"It will be seen by the congressional report, that Mr. Adams, and the abolition members of Congress, have started the old game of agitation in the House of Representatives. No doubt the design is to waste as much as possible of the public time, at this short session, upon a question not less fruitless than mischievous. How discreditable is it to the country, that the *Massachusetts Madman* is permitted, not only to outrage all order and decorum in the House, but to scatter incendiary evil and excitement throughout the country."

What an exquisite sense of "order and decorum" the Albany Argus displays!—What dignity, what respect for the character which should distinguish the state paper, and what deference for a man who has filled the highest office in our republic, this modestly worded paragraph evinces! There is something in the circumstance of Mr. Adams being permitted to make a motion in the House of Representatives, which, we must confess, deserves strong rebuke; and our only wonder is that the Albany Argus could so admirably command its temper, as to confine itself to so gentle a reprimand. The "Massachusetts Madman" merits harsher treatment. He should have been denounced, in the bitterest terms, as a baldheaded and paralytic dotard, for the unparalled audacity he has been guilty of, in presenting a petition of his constituents to the House of Representatives, and asking that it might be appropriately referred.—Such atrocious conduct could proceed only from the weakest head and the worst heart; and we are surprised that the Albany Argus lets him off so easily. We cannot refrain, however, from inviting the attention of our readers to its paragraph, as a model of newspaper suavity and decorum.

That Mr. Adams is a madman there is *medical authority* for asserting. A physician being called on as a witness, not long since, in this city, in the case of a trial before one of our courts, in which an attempt was made to prove one of the parties insane, defined madness to consist in conduct or opinions differing from those of the mass of mankind. Mr. Adams differs very widely, alas! from the mass of mankind, both in conduct and opinions, if we are to take the House of Representatives as a fair criterion of public sentiment. He strangely believes that slavery is an evil; that Congess has constitutional jurisdiction, in all respects over the District of Columbia; that the right of petitioning is guarantied to all citizens by the federal compact; and that the right of speech justifies him in expressing his sentiments, even on a tabooed question of abolishing involuntary servitude. To these crazy opinions, he adds the crazy conduct of persisting in expressing them; and thus comes doubly within the category of madman. To express unpopular opinions now-a-days, is not only deemed madness, but madness of that aggravated kind which calls for the harshest treatment of Bedlam. The soothing system is out of place here. That is proper to be applied only in the milder forms of lunacy. But the man who is so utterly frantic as to express unpopular opinions, should be dealt with somewhat after the fashion that keepers of insane hospitals deal with their raving and delirous patients. Instead of ordinary habiliments, his limbs should be swathed in a species of straight waistcoat—an unguentous integument, composed of molassess and boiling tar; he should be placed on a diet of rotten eggs; and for exercise, ridden a few miles, at a sharp trot, on a wooden rail. This is the mode of treatment which the madness of uttering unpopular opinions is considered as calling for, and we faithfully copy the proscription from the latest edition of the Political Pharmacopœia, a chapter of which was transcribed from the Westchester Spy in the last number of our paper.

It has been discovered we believe, of late years in Great Britain, that a free use of the halter is not the best possible mode of preventing petty crimes; and there are some who will probably question whether tar and feathers are a sovereign specific for the disease of abolitionism. Insanity, of the kind which the Massachusetts Madman displays, is certainly wonderfully on the increase.—It has got to be an epidemic in the land; and what is most surprising, cases of the most aggravated description, and in the greatest numbers, occur, in those neighborhoods where the remedial measures have been most energetically applied. We have our doubts even, if some patriotic practitioner, imbued with that spirit of philanthropy which animates the columns of the Albany Argus, should administer a dose of tar and molasses to Mr. Adams, whether the result would not be, not to effect a cure, but to spread the disease. The operation seems to be somewhat like that of the means adopted by the British government to plant the Episcopal church in Ireland, which, according to the London Examiner, have done, more to advance the cause of Popery, than could have been effected by a hundred colleges *de Propaganda*. A hundred thousand undisturbed lecturers on abolition, at all events, could not have done half so much to spread their doctrines, as has been effected by the violence of those who sought to suppress them. They have but pricked the sides of their intent. They have but spurred them to more rapid progress. Their opposition has but inflamed the spirit which it could not vanquish. Like the matadores and picadores of the Spanish national game, their darts and javelins torture and do not kill, and only exacerbrate the spirit of those baited men who needed no additional impulse to sting them into activity.

The abolitionists, while fastened with galling ligatures to the stake, with his limbs shrinking and shrivelling under a flood of seething tar, if, in that moment of nature's extremest agony, his mind can rise superior to physical torture, has this glorious source of consolation before him; that the pangs he suffers will not be lost, but will awaken, in a thousand bosoms, such sympathy for his sufferings, and such indignation against his persecutors, as will do more than volumes of argument to draw attention to the evils of slavery, and promote the great and holy cause of universal emancipation. Mr. Adams, too, may patiently bear the abuse poured upon him by such servile prints as the Albany Argus, when we reflect that the feelings it is calculated to arouse in the minds of all honorable men, will have a salutary influence in preparing them for a due consideration of those important truths, of which he has shown himself a fearless champion. The Albany Argus, without meaning it, (we acquit it of all such intention) has done a service to the cause of freedom, by terming that venerable statesman the Massachusetts Madman.—*N. Y. Plaindealer.*

[From the New-England Spectator.]

Why Christians should enlist in the cause of Peace.

Every disciple of Christ should labor in the cause of peace for the glory of God, and the good of mankind. Why should we seek to abolish the slave trade, to arrest the ravages of intemperance, or banish idolatry and superstition from the earth? God requires it and man needs it. For the same reasons we should use our utmost endeavors to make war cease, and peace reign in all its beauty and bliss through christendom, and the world.

Peace is a part of the Gospel. It is essential to the perfection of Christian character; and we are as really bound to promote it, as we are to seek the conversion of sinners to repentance and faith. The principles of peace are taught in the New Testament as clearly as the duty of repentance, or the doctrine of a general resurrection, or final judgment; and, if required to preach the whole gospel to every creature, our Saviour's last command rivets upon us the obligation of spreading peace, as an element of his religion, through the world.

War is a heinous sin against God. Look at its nature or effects; trace its origin, its progress or its consequences for time and eternity; analyze even one of its moral elements in the crucible of the gospel; and can you find a single shred of this foul and bloody custom that is not highly offensive to God, and directly repugnant to his gospel? It is a great sin, the very climax of human wickedness; and christians if required to oppose such forms of sin as the delusions of Mohammedanism, or the idolatries of the pagan world, are equally if not doubly bound to resist this blood stained relic of paganism, this nurse of all crimes, this foulest spawn of hell.

War adulterates and disgraces the religion of Christendom. It has been for ages a moral leprosy on the bosom of the church. It has more or less tainted her vitals. It has marred her whole character in view of the world, and of God. It has been a standing contradiction, a stereotyped libel, a bitter and withering mockery of nearly all her peculiar principles. It has held her up, reeking with blood, to the scorn of infidels, and Jews, and Mohammedans, the whole unevangelized world. It has cut the very sinews of her power to bless the nations.

War is destructive to our temporal interests. Its destruction of property is incalculable; it preys in a thousand ways upon the wealth of the world. It wastes human life beyond computation. It is the origin and support of the slave trade and slavery, and all forms of despotism and oppression. It is a fountain of countless evils for this life; it is an ocean of misery.

War is a prolific source of moral evils. It corrupts individuals, and demoralizes whole communities. It is a hotbed of almost every thing bad. It is the nurse of ignorance, and idleness, and irreligion, and intemperance, and licentiousness, and piracy, and every species of vice and crime imaginable.

War destroys souls. It produces a state of mind which forbids conversion, or growth in holiness. It withholds the means of grace, or neutralizes their saving power.—It trains men for perdition, and then sweeps them into eternity by thousands and millions!

War prevents or retards the conversion of the world. It has scattered its obstacles over the whole earth, and already rolled back many ages the day of its promised redemption. It *must* cease; or the world can never be *fully* converted to God.

Disciple of Jesus! what will *you* do for the removal of such a sin and curse? Will you correct your own views and feelings in regard to it? Will you try to rectify those of all persons under your care or influence? Will you pray? Will you give your money? Will you do *all* you *can*? "Blessed are the peace makers; for they shall be called the children of God."

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